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Message Text

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IO:WBBUFFUM
P:JJSISCO
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S/S -O: P. SHANKLE
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S: J. COVEY
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 125827 TOSEC 020126

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, VN, VS, UR, OVIP, (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT:ACTION MEMORANDUM: SOVIET APPROACH ON UN MEMBERSHIP FOR NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAM (S/S NO. 7510977)
FOR THE SECRETARY THROUGH SISCO AND INGERSOLL FROM BUFFUM
REF: STATE 123659

1. PROBLEM: IN VIEW OF THE INGERSOLL-VORONTSOV CONVERSATION, (REFTEL) WE NEED TO DECIDE WHETHER AND HOW TO RESPOND TO THE SOVIET QUERY ON UN MEMBERSHIP FOR NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAM.

2. BACKGROUND/ANALYSIS: THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM FIRST APPLIED FOR UN MEMBERSHIP IN A LETTER TO THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL IN 1948. THIS LETTER, HOWEVER, WAS NOT CIRCULATED AS AN OFFICIAL UN DOCUMENT UNTIL SEPTEMBER
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1952, WHEN THE APPLICATION OF SOUTH VIETNAM FIRST CAME BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL. AT THAT TIME ONLY THE USSR VOTED IN FAVOR OF ADMITTING NORTH VIETNAM. SOUTH VIET-

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NAM'S APPLICATION RECEIVED 10 FAVORABLE VOTES BUT WAS VETOED BY THE USSR. LATER THAT YEAR THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY FOUND SOUTH VIETNAM QUALIFIED FOR ADMISSION AND REQUESTED THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL TAKE NOTE OF THIS FINDING. IN 1957, ALTHOUGH THE USSR AT FIRST ADVOCATED SIMULTANEOUS ADMISSION OF BOTH VIETNAMS AND BOTH KOREAS, IT SHIFTED ITS POSITION FOLLOWING A LETTER FROM NORTH VIETNAM TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL CONTENDING THAT ADMISSION OF "SOUTH VIETNAM" WOULD BE CONTRARY TO THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENTS. THEREAFTER THE USSR TOOK THE POSITION THAT VIETNAM SHOULD NOT BE ADMITTED UNTIL AFTER UNIFICATION, BUT CONTINUED TO PROPOSE THE SIMULTANEOUS ADMISSION OF TWO KOREAS. THE LAST UN CONSIDERATION OF THESE TWO ADMISSION QUESTION WAS IN 1958, WHEN THE USSR AGAIN VETOED ROK AND SOUTH VIETNAM MEMBERSHIP. SINCE 1973, THE SOVIETS HAVE MILDLY SUPPORTED NORTH KOREAN OPPOSITION TO MEMBERSHIP FOR THE TWO KOREAS.

THE US HAS NEVER VETOED (OR HAD ANY NEED TO VETO) A MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION. THIS HAS BEEN CONSISTENT WITH THE 1948 VANDENBERG RESOLUTION CALLING FOR VOLUNTARY AGREEMENT AMONG THE FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS TO REMOVE THE VETO FROM ADMISSION OF NEW MEMBERS.

WHEN THE USSR LINKED ADMISSION OF CERTAIN APPLICANTS TO THAT OF OTHERS, RESULTING IN "MEMBERSHIP DEADLOCK" THE UNGA IN 1947 REQUESTED AN ADVISORY OPINION FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE ON WHETHER UN MEMBER WAS JURIDICALLY ENTITLED TO MAKE ITS CONSENT TO ADMISSION AN APPLICANT DEPENDENT ON CONDITIONS NOT EXPRESSLY SET FORTH IN THE UN CHARTER (ARTICLE 4(1), AND IN PARTICULAR TO SUBJECT ITS AFFIRMATIVE VOTE TO ADDITIONAL CONDITION THAT OTHER STATES BE ADMITTED TO UN MEMBERSHIP AT THE SAME TIME. IN ITS OPINION OF MAY 28, 1948, COURT ANSWERED THESE TWO QUESTIONS NEGATIVELY.

3. CURRENT SITUATION - VIETNAM: PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS BY NORTH VIETNAMESE OFFICIALS INDICATE HANOI EXPECTS EVENTUAL

REUNIFICATION OF VIETNAM. PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY PRG OFFICIALS INDICATE REUNIFICATION IS ITS ULTIMATE GOAL, BUT THAT A PERIOD OF TRANSITION (POSSIBLY LASTING SEVERAL YEARS) WILL BE NECESSARY.

BOTH NORTH VIETNAM AND PRG SUBMITTED MEMBERSHIP APPLICATIONS TO THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION AND THE WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION JUST BEFORE COLLAPSE OF THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM. FOLLOWING THE GVN COLLAPSE, THE PRG WITHDREW ITS APPLICATION AND SUBMITTED CREDENTIALS AS THE SUCCESSOR SAIGON GOVERNMENT; ITS CREDENTIALS WERE

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ACCEPTED, AS WAS DRV MEMBERSHIP. THE SOVIETS FAVORED PRG CREDENTIALS AND NORTH VIETNAMESE MEMBERSHIP. THEUS ACCEPTED THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE REPORTS BUT ABSTAINED ON HANOI'S APPLICATIONS.

4. CURRENT SITUATION - KOREA: IN 1973 THE ROK REVERSED

ITS POLICY AND BEGAN ADVOCATING MEMBERSHIP IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING THE UN, FOR BOTH NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA. NORTH KOREA ADAMANTLY OPPOSES THIS POLICY, INSISTING KOREA MUST BE UNITED OR AT LEAST CONFEDERATED BEFORE UN ENTRY CAN TAKE PLACE. THE ROKG WILL BE ALERT TO IMPLICATIONS OF VIETNAMESE MEMBERSHIP FOR THEIR OWN SITUATION AND WILL URGE US TO PREVENT MEMBERSHIP FOR BOTH VIETNAMS UNTIL THE PRC AND USSR ARE WILLING TO ADMIT THE ROK. IN THE WAKE OF INDOCHINA EVENTS, THE ROK WILL LOOK EVEN MORE TO US TO PROTECT ITS INTERESTS IN THIS REGARD. WE DO NOT EXPECT THE USSR OR THE PRC EITHER TO ALTER THEIR POSITION ON KOREA IN THE SC OR TO PERSUADE PYONGYANG TO ALTER ITS ATTITUDE.

5. RECOMMENDED U.S. POSITION: SINCE NEW MEMBERS CAN ONLY BE ADMITTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON RECOMMENDATION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND NO FIRM UN ACTION THEREFORE CAN BE TAKEN PRIOR TO SEPTEMBER, WE SHOULD SEEK TO DEFER ANY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION OF THIS SUBJECT UNTIL SEPTEMBER. WHILE WE WANT TO EXPLOIT THE POSSIBLE ADMISSION OF THE TWO VIETNAMS TO THE UN AS A POSSIBLE LEVER FOR GETTING SOUTH KOREA ADMITTED, IT IS UNLIKELY THAT WE CAN ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE, AND WE MAY THEREFORE FINALLY HAVE TO TAKE AN

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INDEPENDENT POSITION ON HOW WE VOTE ON THE VIETNAMESE APPLICATIONS. IT SEEMS PREFERABLE TO PERMIT MORE TIME TO ELAPSE BETWEEN THE DOWNFALL OF SAIGON AND THE TAKING OF A STAND ON THE DRV AND PRG ADMISSION TO THE UN. AMONG OTHER THINGS, THIS WOULD GIVE US TIME TO CONFIRM OUR INITIAL FEELING THAT ADMISSION OF SOUTH VIETNAM--TO THE EXTENT THAT IT UNDERLINED ITS SEPARATENESS--WOULD SERVE OUR INTERESTS.

ACCORDINGLY, OUR TACTIC SHOULD BE TO AVOID GIVING A COMMITMENT TO THE USSR ON THIS SUBJECT AT THIS TIME AND TO EXPLORE WHETHER OUR ACQUIESCENCE IN ADMISSION OF THE TWO VIETNAMS WOULD FACILITATE THE ENTRY OF SOUTH KOREA WHICH IS VERY DOUBTFUL.
WE ALSO WANT TO HANDLE THE MATTER SO AS NOT TO SERVE THE SOVIETS' PURPOSE OF ENHANCING THEIR POSITION IN INDOCHINA AT PEKING'S EXPENSE. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE WOULD WANT TO TELL THE SOVIETS THAT WE ARE AUTHORIZING OUR MISSION IN NEW YORK TO DISCUSS THE SOVIET APPROACH AND OUR RESPONSE

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WITH OTHER PERMANENT SC MEMBERS (PRC, UK, FRANCE).

6. RECOMMENDATION: WE THEREFORE RECOMMEND THAT BUFFUM BE AUTHORIZED TO RESPOND TO VORONTSOV ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES:

A. NO ACTION ON THE APPLICATIONS OF NORTH AND/OR SOUTH VIETNAM FOR UN MEMBERSHIP CAN BE COMPLETED BEFORE SEPTEMBER WHEN THE GA CONVENES;

B. WE ARE UNCLEAR REGARDING HANOI'S INTENTIONS SINCE IT HAS NOT THUS FAR CLARIFIED ITS LONG-STANDING POSITION THAT VIETNAM MUST FIRST BE UNIFIED PRIOR TO ENTRY INTO THE UN;

C. WE ARE ALSO UNCLEAR WHAT THE ATTITUDE OF THE NEW SAIGON AUTHORITIES WILL BE TOWARDS REUNIFICATION AND UN MEMBERSHIP;

D. AS THE SOVIETS ARE AWARE, THE US STRONGLY SUPPORTS THE ROK DESIRE FOR ADMISSION OF NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA WHICH WITH NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAM ARE VIRTUALLY THE ONLY STATES NOW OUTSIDE THE UN. IN OUR CONSIDERATION OF

THIS PROBLEM CAN WE PROCEED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE USSR WOULD SUPPORT ADMISSION OF THE TWO KOREAS IF WE FEEL IT POSSIBLE TO SUPPORT THE ENTRY OF THE TWO VIETNAMS.

E. WE WOULD WELCOME ANY SOVIET VIEWS ON THE FOREGOING POINTS; WE WILL ALSO BE DISCUSSING THESE QUESTIONS IN NEW YORK WITH OTHER PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

CLEARED: EA, EUR, MR. SISCO AND MR. INGERSOLL
S: J. COVEY
INGERSOLL

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